COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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It is the boast of the partizans of the late minister, William Pitt, that the Commerce of England was doubled during his administration.——When he became minister, the interest of the National Debt (paid annually out of the taxes) amounted to something more than nine millions of pounds sterling; and, at the close of his administration, it amounted to more than twenty four millions of pounds sterling.——During his administration, he added five-fold to the Assessed Taxes; he created the Income Tax; and, by what is called the Land Tax Redemption Act, he made that tax perpetual, and caused the alienation for ever of a considerable part of the property of the Church and of all charitable foundations.——During the year after he became minister (1785) the money paid on account of the Poor, in England and Wales, amounted to 2,004,238 pounds, the average price of the quartern loaf in that year, being sixpence three farthings; and, during the year 1803 (two years before the end of his career), the money paid on account of the Poor, in England and Wales, amounted to 4,267,965 pounds, the average price of the quartern loaf, in that year, being ninepence farthing.——During his administration, the act of "Habeas Corpus," or personal-safety act, was suspended for several years together.——When he died, in January, 1806, the parliament came to an unanimous decision to cause his Debts, to the amount of 40,000 pounds, to be paid out of taxes raised upon the people; and, further, caused him to be buried at the public expense, and voted a monument in honour of his memory, in Westminster Abbey Church, also at the public expense, and that too, upon the ground of the services which he had rendered the country.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION.——I think, that enough was said, in my last Number, to dissipate all the bubbles, which the full grown babies of the London press had been, for several days, blowing out for the amusement of others like themselves; but, since the writing of the article here referred to, I have seen some instances of their frothy folly that I cannot forbear to notice. Upon this occasion, as well as upon all others, the two factions are opposed to each other; but, this is one of those events, which both represent as auspicious for the country, and, of course, the point in dispute is, which faction has the merit of it. If merit there be, however, it manifestly appears, that to neither of them does it belong; for, the letter of our envoy, Lord Strangford, as well as that of Sir Sidney Smith, our admiral, leave it clearly to be inferred, that, if the Prince Regent of Portugal could have remained upon the terms of joining Napoleon against England, he would have remained; and, indeed, to be satisfied of this, what have we to do but to refer to his hostile proclamation? But, Napoleon would not suffer him to remain upon those terms; so that, the merit of the emigration, for which the two factions are quarrelling, like two dogs for a bone, belongs to Napoleon, or, if it must be divided, the Prince Regent is the only one who has any fair pretensions to a share. And this being the case, Napoleon having been assured, that an emigration to the Brazils would be the consequence of his refusing to suffer the Prince to reign in Portugal, is there not some reason for us to hesitate, before we give way to such unbounded joy at the event? Napoleon is not very much in the habit of doing that which he foresees will produce good to us. But, I agree, that his opinions are no rule whereby for us to judge of what is for our good. I agree, that the case must rest upon its own intrinsic merits; and, I think I have shown, in my former article upon the subject, that the emigration cannot, in all probability, tend to our good.——Of an opinion widely different, however, are the wisemen of the London press. The Courier says: "The "escape of the royal family of Portugal "from the grasp of the tyrant, and the "prospects which that event opens to our "view, have produced the greatest satis-"faction. Already has commerce directed "its attention to the Brazils, and several "ships have been engaged to convey thither "the produce of our industry."——I doubt it not. There needs no assurance on the part of this writer to convince me, that the event has produced great satisfaction amongst the inhabitants of Finsbury Square and Thames Street; nor have I the least doubt, that the Brazils will soon become a grand out-let for the produce, or fruits, of the industry of the people of England, having, indeed, shown, in my former Number, that a good round sum out of our taxes will be wanted to support the new government of her most faithful majesty. But, I see, in this, nothing to give me satisfaction, and nothing that ought to give satisfaction to any man, who has the good of England at heart.——The Morning Chronicle, as if he were pitted for a wager against his "brain-"less brother," says: "there is at this "moment actually cut down in the Brazils,

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" timber sufficient for the construction of " 20 sail of the line. Our West India " islands can be amply supplied from the " Brazils with provisions, lumber, and " every article of necessity." —— Timber for twenty sail of the line! What was it cut down for? And who cut it down? The event, which has now taken place, could not have been anticipated in the Brazils; and, if it had, whence were to come the hands to cut down the timber? The whole of the population does not surpass half a million of souls, scattered over an immense territory. The Europeans do not work, and the African slaves are employed in raising them provisions and in working the mines. It would require, I should think, one half of the working population to be employed for a whole year to cut down and rough-hew timber sufficient for twenty ships of the line, supposing a sufficiency of the various sorts of timber to be found in the country, which is not the case. And, if one half of the working population were employed in this way, is it not evident, that one half of the people must cease to eat; or, that one half of the mines must cease to be worked? This assertion, therefore, respecting the timber cut down in the Brazils, is not less silly than false. Still, however, it is, as to both these qualities, far surpassed by the assertion respecting the capability of the Brazils to supply our West India colonies " with " provisions, lumber, and every article of " necessity." The Morning Chronicle will say it is unfair if I suppose him to include amongst articles of necessity, the clothing and hardware requisite in the West Indies; and, therefore, I will suppose him to mean only the wood necessary for buildings and for cooperage, and the food necessary for the people to live upon. First, as to the wood, the inhabited part of the Brazils is at a distance from the centre of our West India colonies, five times as great as that which divides those colonies from the centre ports of the United States of America, or from Nova Scotia; so that, supposing there to be a spare population in the Brazils sufficient for the preparation of the several sorts of lumber; supposing there to be a sufficiency of saw-mills and of other conveniencies under the scorching suns of the Brazils; and supposing there to be iron and shipwrights in abundance in that country, the lumber must arrive in the West Indies at an expense which would soon cause the plantations to be deserted, English sugar necessarily being quite unable to bear a moment's competition with that raised by the colonists of other nations. But, supposing all this to be overbalanced by the advantage of getting the lumber from a country other than the American States. Yet, what good is this grand event to us in this respect? We have another of our own, Nova Scotia, covered with all sorts of wood, from the pine to the hazel, and we have, nevertheless, found, that it is impossible thence to draw the lumber necessary for our West India colonies. The reason is, that we have not there a sufficiency of spare population to prepare the lumber for the West Indies, and we never shall have as long as the banks of the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomack, the Ohio, and the Mississippi invite to the tilling of a climate more genial. By compelling the West India colonies to receive no lumber except from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, we should, doubtless, induce people to reside in the last countries; but, as their food would cost much more labour to raise it than it costs to raise food for the hewers of wood in the American States, the lumber would come at an increased price to the West India planters, English West India produce would be dearer than the produce of the West India colonies belonging to other nations, what we used of it in England we should be obliged to give more of the fruit of our labour for, and, as to foreign countries, there our planters would be undersold by the planters of every other nation. This is the reason why our West India islands have not been supplied with lumber from our own American colonies; and, leaving the difference in distance out of the question, the same reason exists with respect to the Brazils, where the population is short of half a million at the end of two hundred years; and, into which there have been imported from Africa, during that time, not less than two millions of negroes. The population of the Brazils is a forced population, a population kept up by importing men into the country, by purchasing men to live and work there; and I leave the reader to judge of the understanding (or learning) of the man who asserts, in the most unqualified manner, that our West India colonies can be supplied with lumber by a country, where each workman costs, upon an average, at the first purchase, two hundred guineas.——But, if it be so grossly absurd to assert that the Brazils are capable of supplying our West India colonies with lumber, what shall we say of the other proposition of this writer, namely, that they are capable of supplying those colonies with provisions? —— First, what are the sorts of provisions, with which the West India

colonies require to be supplied? Flour, salt pork and beef, and butter. I will say nothing of the live-stock, which are carried thither from the American States, and which, if they could possibly be found in sufficient number in the Brazils, would, doubtless, greatly relish, and thrive exceedingly during, a voyage of from six to ten weeks, and sometimes of three months.——The flour, supposing the mills and all constructed ready, must, after such a voyage, come very cheap to our planters, especially when we consider that the agricultural labourers are brought from Africa at the price of two hundred guineas each. Besides these objections, which apply to corn and flour, there are others with regard to the salt meat and butter. I should suppose, that the very coolest days ever known in the Brazils, almost the whole territory of which lies between the tropics, exceed in heat the very hottest days ever known in England. Now, it is well known, that no sort of meat will take salt, unless the weather, speaking in our language, be cold; how then, is it possible to preserve meat in the Brazils, much less to put it up in a state fit to be kept for a twelvemonth? And, I should think, that even the smoke-dried tenants of the city, many of whom never saw the morning dew in their lives, would require but very little to convince them, that the potting down of butter under a vertical sun must be delightful sport, surpassing even that of eating hasty-pudding with an awl.——One would really suppose, that this writer of the Morning Chronicle never thought. That his words dropped out from his pen at random. And, yet, he sometimes sports a word or two of Latin at the close of a paragraph, in order, I suppose, to shew, that he is "a gentleman of education," a man of "classical learning." The truth is, he has no time for thinking about any thing but what will serve the purposes of his faction. Upon party squabbles it is admirable what dexterity he shows; how he stickles and quibbles and shuffles, and with what charming grace he unsays to day what he said yesterday; but, upon all matters, wherein the public look for, and need information, it is truly surprising to see what ignorance he discovers; though it must be confessed, that he is fully equalled, even in this respect, by a great majority of his brethren.——Nevertheless, I dare say, that it is, by this time, pretty generally believed, that the Brazils are capable of supplying our West India colonies with lumber and provisions; and that John Bull begins to hug himself in the idea, that he has found out a population of half a million of people, who, with the surplus of their produce, are able to feed a million of people in another country. He will, too, I dare say, perceive, that, supposing the Brazilians to be able to send forth so much subsistence, it will be mightily advantageous to them to receive in exchange, sugar, coffee, indigo, and tobacco, all of which they grow abundantly in their own country. John can swallow a pretty good dose, and should not be so free with his jokes upon those who place reliance upon the virtues of holy-water. His priests (I mean the London news-editors) are much greater impostors than those who taught his forefathers to perform pilgrimages to the shrine of that famous scoundrel "Saint "Thomas a Becket," and who exhibited the blood of a duck for that of Jesus Christ. John may laugh, and shake his fat jowls, at being gravely told of the Virgin Mary's house taking a flight from Palestine to Italy; but, in revenge, the Italians have nothing to do but to remind him of his building a monument in honour of the memory of Pitt, in consequence of the national services of that minister; or, of his rejoicing at the emigration of the Portuguese Government, as an event auspicious to England. John is an honest, industrious, unsuspicious fellow; but, it becomes not him, above all others, to laugh at those who suffer themselves to be amused and cheated by quacks and impostors.——The above examination into the abilities of the Brazils may serve to enable us to judge of the probability of the new government ever being capable of supporting itself, and maintaining the independance of the country. It appears to me quite impossible, that it should be able to keep up either a fleet, or an army, without recruits from England, and without grants of English money; and, then, what will the Brazils, be, but another accursed colony, another mill-stone about our necks, another East Indies? I think, however, that the likely thing is, that, when we come to make peace, Napoleon will insist, that the Brazils shall belong to Portugal; and, in that case, what are we to do? Shall we continue the war, "eternal war," rather than give up our hold upon the Brazils, especially when that important country, Hanover, which is "as "dear to us as Hampshire," may be offered to us in exchange? Ah, poor Prince Regent! dismal as you will find the Brazils, you will not, I am afraid, upon your landing there, have seen half the mortifications that are in store for you.——What we have to consider, at present, however, is the expence that this new government will be to us; the quantity of labour we shall have to

perform to raise the taxes that will be required of us for its support. But, if I am not greatly deceived, we shall not be left long in doubt upon this subject; that meeting of parliament, for which the Morning Chronicle is so anxious, will, I am pretty certain, enable the world to judge of the understandings of those, who bid us rejoice at this event.——In taking my leave of this subject, for the present, I cannot forbear pressing upon the memory of the reader, that it appears from the official dispatches published by the ministers, that the Prince Regent would not have emigrated, had he not been assured, that Napoleon would have shown him no quarter; that, while emigration was talked of in England, rather than the Prince would join the foes of England, the Prince was issuing a proclamation by which he joined the foes of England; and that, therefore, those persons were right, who, with me, laughed at the idea of an emigration to the Brazils, under the circumstances then represented to exist. I am desirous, that the reader should bear in mind, that the emigration, which has now taken place, is an event very different from that which was, at first, talked of, and expected; that the emigration talked of embraced a large number of the people, voluntarily leaving their country rather than live under French rule; that it was, in short, a dignified transfer of the seat of government that was then expected; that the emigration which has now taken place is to be considered as, indeed, the newspapers call it, "an escape;" and that none of us, who ridiculed the idea of an emigration of the state, ever supposed it unlikely, that many persons in Portugal, if implacably pursued by the French, would do their best to escape.——Just as I was laying by this article, the following paragraph catched my eye.——"Notice was yesterday given at "the Post-Office, that bags of letters would "be made up and forwarded to Rio de "Janeiro; a circumstance which induces a "belief, that a commercial negociation be-"tween that country and England will "shortly be opened. Yesterday a few of "our merchants waited on the Portuguese "Ambassador. His excellency received "them with much complaisance and affa-"bility, but informed them, that until the "necessary arrangements were formed, he "could not take upon him to hold out any "encouragement to commercial enterprizes "to the Brazils."——Yes, they have been at him already. A commercial negociation! Before they knew whether the Prince Regent will ever arrive in Brazil. Greedy as ravening wolves. The Ambassador must have thought them mad. Besides, what commerce do these gentlemen expect to carry on to Brazil? They may carry some of the port wine that we have in England; but I know not any thing else that they can carry more than we used to supply the Brazils with before. If, however, it be true, that post-office packets are to be sent to that country, our expenses, on account of this "glorious event," have already actually commenced. We may prepare to sweat; for these expences will make no little figure in our annual disbursements from the treasury.——I cannot forbear taking one more paragraph from the Morning Chronicle. "While every one is justly overjoyed at the "prospect of extended commerce which "the Brazils hold out to this country, as "well as the lucky escape which our ancient "ally has made from destruction, by an ac-"cident equally unforeseen and extraordi-"nary, it is natural for us to feel some de-"gree of anxiety with respect to the policy "which such ministers as the present may "adopt in so delicate and important a junc-"ture, towards our transplanted ally. "Never was there an occasion upon which "more depended on the judgment—the "soundness of views which our rulers may "possess. The first shaping of our con-"nexions with the new empire will be in-"finitely important to the continuance of "our intercourse with it, in all time coming; "and when we consider what set of men "are now at the head of affairs, it is im-"possible not to feel extreme apprehensions "as to the plans they may adopt, and the "persons they may depute to execute "them. Lord Bathurst and his commercial "board; Lord Mulgrave, Mr. Robert "Ward, and their maritime views; the "solid talent of Lord Hawkesbury; the "weight of Lord Camden; the wit of Mr. "Canning, and his deep knowledge of the "ancients, who knew not that Brazil exist-"ed; the tolerant, liberal spirit of Mr. "Perceval; the slave-trading views of "Lord Westmoreland, and indeed of almost "the whole junto—all this may do well "enough in ordinary times—and the in-"terest of the country may in any com-"mon juncture escape total ruin, in spite "of it."——The plain English of which, is, "pray, good people, do make a clamour that the no popery ministers may be put out of their places, and that I and my patrons may get into them." But, the people will not clamour. They know, that those who are now in the places are just exactly as good as your patrons, with this difference

in their favour, that they have never promised the people to do them any good. But, the best of this paragraph, is, the sneer at Mr. Canning for his deep knowledge of the ancients, who knew not that Brazil existed. Not much more did the ancients know about the situation and motions of the sun, the earth, or the planets; not much more did they know about navigation; not much more did they know about chemistry or electricity; not much more did they know about many of the sciences now of the utmost importance in the affairs of mankind. This is a furious, though side-winded, blow at the "learned languages;" and, I would have the Morning Chronicle beware how he draws off the envenomed Doctors from me to himself; for, it is quite clear, either that the "learned languages" are useless to a statesman, or that Mr. Canning, who was "captain of Eton," has one qualification, at least, which a statesman ought to possess; and, it is precisely this qualification, which the Morning Chronicle has thought proper to ridicule.

Russia.——It will be remembered, that, sometime ago, in speaking upon the consequences, to us, of the total conquest of the continent of Europe by Napoleon, I gave it as my opinion, that we ought now explicitly to proclaim, that we had, and would maintain, a complete sovereignty of the sea; and, that, when we came to make peace, we should as explicitly assert, and exercise in peace, that sovereignty. I then endeavoured to shew, that there were many countries, which we should be able greatly to embarrass by cutting off all maritime communication between them; or, at least, by causing them to purchase all the goods they received from without at a price augmented tenfold. This article has been commented upon by the editor of a foreign newspaper, entitled the "Courier du Nord," a translation of whose comments, as given in the Times newspaper, I here insert, because, supposing the writer to be a man well-informed, that is to say, learned, upon the subject, I think his comments will go very far towards convincing the reader, that my opinion was correct, and that, as far as Russia could be injured by the loss of commerce with foreign nations, it is in the power of England to injure her.——"Without going to the bottom of the question, we think it becomes us, as Russians, to examine these points, viz. whether England has the power of raising the price of foreign merchandize tenfold; and how far the nations of the globe could communicate with each other if the paths of the ocean were forbidden them. The solution of these two questions depends on some local knowledge, which is not very common.——The first and important thing is, that merchandize may be embarked at Brzesc on the Bug, and may, without touching land, or changing its vessel, arrive at Bremer-Forden, within three posts of Bremen, by means of the canals of Bromberg and Havel. This way may therefore be made use of even for the most bulky objects; and we doubt not that it would have been used, but for the toll-duties in Germany, which are a bar against all continental circulation.——But, let us suppose this obstacle removed, and considering Amsterdam as the emporium of continental merchandize, let us see what a Dutch merchant will do who is desirous of sending cloth into Asia Minor, and of receiving cotton in return. He will certainly be able to embark his cloths upon the Zuyder Zee, and, always protected by the Isles, will carry them into the Weser, where he will have to transport them three posts by land, which will bring him to Bremer-Forden, whence, in the way above-mentioned, he will carry his cloths to Brzesc, ever on streams as easy to ascend as to descend.——At Brzesc he will find a canal begun, and, for the present, a short passage by land, which will bring the wares into the Prypec, and from thence into the Dnieper. If the Dutch merchant wishes that his cargoes of cloth should avoid the passage of the cataracts, he will have a further land-carriage of some leagues: then the cloth will have only to traverse the Black Sea, and go to Trebisonde. The return of cotton may be made in the same way; or, should the Dutch merchant prefer it, he will find at Odessa waggons belonging to the peasants of the Ukraine, which return empty, which will perhaps cost less than the vessels, and which will carry his merchandize to Brzesc.—— Should the same Dutch merchant be desirous to transport his cloth into Persia, and join to it the opium of Asia Minor, he will cause it to ascend the Don up to Zarizyn: there he will find a land-carriage much employed, which will cost his goods not more than at the rate of three kopecks each poud. He will go into the Volga, and thence into the Caspian Sea.—— Mr. Cobbett says, "We hold the keys of "China;" but this expression is not true in respect to Russia. Russia not only has commerce with China, but this commerce would be susceptible of a great extension,

" were Russia to transmit piastres, as other " nations do. A thousand piastres would " cost but six roubles to transport, and the " returns would be made by water; for " the Selinga is navigable even to the " frontiers of China. It may be descend- " ed as far as the lake Raykal, where " the Argoun is entered, and thence in " the Jenissey to Jenniseysk, where there is " a land-carriage of 100 wersts to Ket; and " by that river, the Irtis and the Tobol, the " frontiers of European Russia are reached. " This road is much used. Thus among " the nations of the globe, there are many " communications altogether independent " of the ocean ——Let us now enquire " what are the articles of merchandize " which might be made tenfold dearer at " the good pleasure of the Lords of the " Ocean. Let us begin with coffee. All " who have been at Venice these ten years " or more, know that nothing is drunk there " but the coffee of Arabia; dearer, it is " true, than the coffee of the Islands, but it " also pays an enormous contribution to the " Beys of Egypt. Passing by Aleppo, Or- " fa, Ergerom, and taking the road of Suez " to Trebizonde, it would amount to 1,200 " wersts. Besides, the coffee which is " bought at St. Petersburgh goes by land to " the extremities of the empire without be- " ing much dearer to the last consumer; " and the carriage on the back of camels is " not in general dear. It results, therefore, " that in Russia, Arabian coffee might be " had at the price for which it was had at " Venice.——Sugar is unquestionably the " article, in respect to which Mr. Cobbett " is nearest being in the right; and in fact " he is in the right altogether as things are " now; but this state of things may very " easily be changed, by a free and sure " communication with the Indus, in order " to attain which, nothing is wanting but " the consent of the Persians and Afgans. In " fact, the English have no establishment on " the Indus, which belongs to the indepen- " dent Raja of Tatta. Our Tartars of Orem- " bourg, who sometimes proceed so far, " agree in saying that the price of sugar on " the Indus is below what would be ima- " gined. There is a distance of 1500 wersts " from the Indus to the Caspian Sea. Su- " gar, candied after the manner used in " China and Egypt, might be sent these " 1500 wersts without having its price dou- " bled, I mean, the original price, which is " exceedingly low. The camel costs abso- " lutely nothing to maintain, and hence it " happens that transports may be made in " Asia very cheap. —— Finally, spiceries ex- " cepted, there are few Asiatic articles " which cannot in time be brought into Eu- " rope through Russia, and this Russia itself " is, during half the year, an ocean, being " covered with water in the form of snow. " All the horses which cannot then be em- " ployed in the labours of husbandry, may " be used in the transport of goods, and that " at a very cheap rate. In summer, num- " berless rivers, bearing their waters into " the Volga and the Caspian Sea, shew Rus- " sians the direction they ought to give to " their activity.——It is beyond a doubt, " that England consumes for its marine a " great mass of products, and has hitherto " given Russia advantages which she can " expect from no other commercial nation; " but if the menace of Mr. Cobbett were " put into execution, Russia, though she " might lose at first, would perhaps be a " gainer in the end."——Now (addressing myself to this foreign editor), first of all you suppose, Sir, the toll duties of Germany removed, in order that Russia may receive her cloth from Holland; but, how are they to be removed? By the power of Napoleon, I suppose; for the Emperor of Russia will not be permitted to meddle in the affairs of Germany; and, for whatever good Napoleon does Russia in this way, it is not to be doubted, that, in some way or other, he will receive an equivalent; so that, upon the supposition that it is possible for Russia to receive her clothing through Amsterdam, this equivalent will have been something forced from her by the maritime power of England. But, have you really considered the cost of transporting heavy and bulky goods two thousand miles by canals, and, in part, land carriage? I can know nothing of the prices of carriage of this sort upon the continent of Europe; but, I am able to come at a pretty correct judgment by comparing the canal and land charges here with the charge of sea freight. The expence of conveying goods by the canal from Liverpool to London, a distance of 200 miles, is more than half as much as that of conveying the same goods from Philadelphia to Liverpool; and, a land carriage of 60 miles, in England, is equal in expence to this canal carriage of 200 miles. Now, Sir, I am not easily to be made believe, that either the canals or the roads between Amsterdam and Petersburgh are better than they are in England; I am satisfied, that the risk, including damage in lading and unlading, is as great, if not greater, inland than by sea; and though labour may positively be cheaper upon the continent than it is here, relatively it cannot be cheaper, for labour, in all its branches, will bear an exact

proportion in price; if canal carriage be cheap at Amsterdam, so will sea carriage; and, therefore, my comparison is quite a sufficient guide for my judgment. Supposing, then, your canal at Brzesc finished instead of begun, and allowing that those "streams," of which you speak, have the extraordinary quality of ascent as easy as the descent, you will find, I believe, that only one hundred miles of your inland carriage will amount to more than sea freight from Amsterdam to Petersburgh; I leave you to calculate what will be the relative amount of two (perhaps I should say three) thousand miles of inland land carriage. Besides, Sir, where are the people to come from to carry on this traffic; it would, I should suppose, require one half of the labouring population of the places, through which the goods would pass, to work the barges and waggons.——As to the empty waggons, which the Dutch merchant would find at Odessa, the owners of them must be of a very singular taste, a taste quite peculiar to the farmers of the Ukraine, if they will carry his goods for less than fifty times as much as it would cost to transport them the same distance in a ship. Of this trade between Holland and Asia Minor, however, it is not necessary to our purpose to say much; but I think there can be little doubt, that, if Russia were shut out from the ocean, which we have it in our power to accomplish, her supply of woollen cloth would soon become such as to reduce her to the use of her furs, in which state her millions of subjects might, perhaps, be as happy as they now are; but, the change would, I am fully persuaded, give an entire new cast to her character as one of the great nations of Europe.——We do not, according to your opinion, hold the keys of China against Russia. Why, to be sure, China and Russia are joined by intervening lands. They are upon the same continent; and, if the lands join, as some contend, at the northern extremity of the world, and there be but one continent, we do not, in this sense, hold the keys of the passage between Russia and Cape Horn; but, if we are able to prevent Russia from receiving any goods from China by sea, it appears to me that the keys are completely in our hands; for, as to the conveying of goods of bulk, eight or ten thousand English miles along rivers and through deserts, the notion is too ridiculous to be seriously entertained. Besides, it seems that Dollars are necessary in a traffic between Russia and China, and you recommend the transmitting of Dollars; but, where, in the case supposed, will you get the Dollars? You must dig them out of your snows; for, we shall, by the use of our maritime power, prevent you from receiving any from America.——The coffee, which you are to receive from Arabia, may be better than that of the West Indies; but, that you will be able to drink it as cheap as it is drunk at Venice, appears to me quite incomprehensible. You admit, that, in its way to the confines of Russia it must experience a land carriage of 1,200 wersts, or 900 English miles; and, supposing you had camels to carry, which, according to your account, cost nothing to keep, the drivers, I presume, would cost something. But, you have no camels there. The carriage, over the 900 miles must be by the means of horses, and, unless the roads in that country are much better than they are in England (which is not very probable, I think), each pound of coffee would, in this part of the carriage alone, receive an additional cost of one shilling and sixpence sterling. In short, what with carriage, damage, loss and waste, coffee, at St. Petersburgh, brought from Arabia, would be nearly as dear as gold-dust.——I am not, observe, supposing, that it would be any injury to the people of Russia if the Frenchified part of the nation were to be totally deprived of coffee, which is of no real use to any body. But, the case is quite different with respect to cloth, and also with respect to sugar, which, though it can be done without, is not only useful, but is, in some cases, almost a necessary of life. I will say nothing about the prime cost of sugar on the Indus; I will suppose it to be got there for nothing; and that a disposition and ability to raise it and give it away would increase with the demand for it; and, then, my opinion is, that each pound of sugar would cost more than a guinea before it arrived at St. Petersburgh. Let the camels live upon the air, or upon nothing, and let them cost nothing to obtain, still camels must have drivers, and those drivers must have food and raiment; and, as to "all the horses of Russia" being employed during the winter in the transport of goods, what are the Russians to do for that fuel, which, during the winter months, they employ those horses in providing? Be assured, Sir, that the Russians as well as the English, keep as many horses as they want for their present purposes and no more. Besides, if the horses are sent upon long journeys from home, in winter, they must be well fed; there must be drivers here too, and they must be fed and cloathed for the journey; all which, it seems to me, you must have completely overlooked. The fact, indeed, that you state, relative to coffee, to wit, that it comes nearly

as cheap to those who use it at the extremity of the Russian empire, as to those who use it at the port were it is first landed from on shipboard, would silence all my objections, did not my observation lead me to conclude, that you must have been greatly misinformed upon this point. For, in America, the price of all articles of foreign growth bears an exact proportion to the distance of the place where they are consumed from the place where they are first landed. Salt, for instance, which costs half a dollar (half a piastre) a bushel at Philadelphia, will cost about a dollar at Lancaster, two dollers at Carlisle, and so on, till, in the settlements over the Aleghany mountains, it costs a guinea, or, perhaps more, a bushel. Indeed, it must necessarily be thus; and, therefore, you will forgive me, if I take it for granted, that you have been misinformed with respect to the price of the coffee, consumed at the extremities of the Russian Empire.——To come, now, to some more general observations, I cannot help perceiving, that you, at every sentence, betray your want of confidence in the ability of Russia to avoid feeling the blow, which England, were her statesmen of my mind, would give to that aspiring and encroaching empire. I know, that it is not in our power to hurt the people of Russia; they would be as well, and better, without commerce, for very little cloth or sugar falls to their share; but, we have it in our power to annoy their rulers, and keep them confined within their former limits. It has been owing to the folly of England, that Russia has penetrated into Germany and Turkey. She cannot, all at once, drive you back again; but, she can forbid you to show your face upon the ocean; to render Petersburgh, if not a swamp, at least, a set of lanes wherein for cattle to graze; and this, were her statesmen made of the right sort of stuff, she would resolve to do, thereby giving an awful example to those, whose envy or malignity have led them to conspire together for the audaciously avowed purpose of undermining her maritime power, and of reducing her to a state of humiliation and dependance. It was well becoming of you, indeed, to assemble with Americans, in that same city of Petersburgh, to celebrate the 4th of July, and to toast "*the liberty* "*of the seas*;" and that, too, Sir, while there were on board your ships, at your Emperor's request, English officers, to teach you how to manœuvre and to fight. This was well becoming in you. There is not that spirit in England that there used to be, or satisfaction would have been demanded for this audacious and malignant insult. Your ships have, some of them, found their way, into the Atlantic Ocean, to assist, I suppose, in effecting that famous object, "the liberty of the seas;" but, they will rot in the Tagus, and their crews will be buried upon its banks, or they will come to augment that power, which you are so desirous to destroy. If ever you, by any unlucky accident, cast your eye upon our English news-papers, you will see what a war there is between the selfish factions that are contending for the sway over us, and, in their mutual recriminations, you will be shocked at the abuses, corruptions, and oppression which that factious war endangers; but, you will deceive yourself, if you suppose, that the people of England, in their great and just hatred of their internal enemies, have lost those feelings, which they ought to entertain against their enemies from without; and, Sir, I can assure you, that the unanimous feeling with respect to the hostility of Russia is that of contempt, while every man amongst us, who reflects seriously, and who is swayed by no self-interested motive, hesitates not to declare, that a total breaking off of all connection with Russia, would be an event auspicious to England. It is not, Sir, upon the mart at St. Petersburgh, or at Batson's-coffee house in London, that you hear the sentiments of the people of England, from whom the persons who assemble at these places have an interest wholly distinct, not to say directly opposite. The great sentiment of the people, is, that, let come what will come, our rights upon the seas ought to be maintained; and you will see, Sir, that, in spite of all the foreign combinations against us, in spite of all the workings of our domestic factions, this sentiment of the nation will always prevail.

AMERICAN STATES.——The present week is rich in American news.——A motion had been made in the Congress, on the 18th of November, respecting money in the American funds, belonging to our late Lord Chancellor, the noble Baron Erskine of Clackmannan. Also a report respecting the affair of the Chesapeake frigate; and a bill had been introduced relative to the defence of the harbours against our ships of war.——But, first of the Baron of Clackmannan's money; and here I shall quote from the Morning Chronicle of the 28th of last month, lest I should fall into error. "City of Washington (place where the "Congress meet), 18. Nov. 1807. Yes-"terday the honourable Mr. Lyon stated, "in the House of Representatives, that "he wished the galleries cleared and the

"doors closed, bolted, and barred, as he "had some highly important matters to "communicate. The House having grati- "fied his wishes, he observed that Mr. "Erskine, the British Minister, had re- "cently transferred Stock, *possessed by "his father to a large amount in the Ame- "rican Funds*, and in consequence pro- "posed the following Resolution, That "provision ought to be made by law, for- "bidding all transfers of right of action, "and all monies, and other property, either "real or personal, to or by any subject of "the Crown of Great Britain; and also "forbidding any Citizen or Resident of the "United States paying any debt or demand "to any such subject."——What a shame, Mr. Lyon! Want to stop; to hold in hand; to sequestrate, and, perhaps, finally, to confiscate, the Baron of Clackmannan's monies! Monies, which, as he has often modestly told the world, he had, during so many years, been gaining from the people of England, at the English bar! But, thanks to the foresight and sagacity of Mr. Erskine, the son of the noble lord, who is also our minister plenipotentiary in the American States, your cruel project was rendered of no effect; and, how fortunate it was, that this gentleman happened, by the late ministry, to be thought the very fittest person to be sent in that capacity to America; for, if he had not been upon the spot to watch the motions of the Congress, all these monies might have been lost.——But, how will Mr. Erskine get these monies home now? The transfer must have been made into American hands; hands which, in such cases, are very apt to draw up close. Supposing the monies to come, they must come in bills of exchange upon London. The bills may, or may not, be good. Other monies will be in the same situation. Bills must be had. They will be greatly above par, that is to say, more monies must be given for them than will be paid for them in London; and people must not be very scrupulous as to the goodness of the bills. Faith, the monies are in a perilous state; for, as will be perceived by Mr. Lyon's motion, there was a thought of forbidding Americans to pay any debt or demand to an English subject; and, if a law of this sort should finally pass, the monies, though transferred, will be just as far from the reach of Baron Erskine of Clackmannan as they were before the transfer took place. ——It is said, indeed, that Mr. Lyon's proposition was received with marks of general dissent; and, that it was the opinion of most of the members, that, "such a step, "*at this time*, was improper;" but it is not said, that any one objected to the measure, as one that, in no case, and at no future time, ought to be adopted; and my opinion is, that, unless we instantly send a maritime force upon the coast of America, sufficient to blockade the mouths of the great rivers, it will be adopted; and, if once they lay hold of the monies, farewell monies; for the duty of re-imbursing forms no part of their decalogue.——All this is known to the agents of Englishmen, who have money in the American funds, as well as it is to me; they will, therefore, lose no time in selling out, and sending home the money in bills of exchange; and, most pat to their purpose, they will find an abundance of people ready to draw bills, especially if things should wear a warlike aspect; for, then, the drawers will have nothing to dread from protests and damages. Exclusive of funded property, the American States are now always about twelve millions of pounds sterling in debt to England, Ireland and Scotland included; let any one judge, then, what a chance the monies in question stand of reaching their owners in England. Baron Erskine's monies will, perhaps, come home with trifling deductions; but, it is not every fund-holder, who has a son there to watch over his monies, and a son, too, so gifted, and withal in a situation that necessarily gives him priority of knowledge, as to the wishes and intentions of the persons there in power. What a lucky thing it was, that the Baron's son was so situated!——There are people, I know, who will inquire into the motives whence the noble Baron might be induced to deposit such large sums in the American funds, and who, with an affectation of profundity, will go about to trace such deposits, in the hands of a foreign nation, to their probable political effects; but, I shall not imitate these frigid philosophers. Having stated the facts which have already transpired, and hazarded a few conjectures as to others that will soon transpire; having considered the thing merely in the way of trade, I shall leave these deep-sighted philosophers to inquire and to trace, as long as they please.——I should now proceed to remark upon the reports and the bill before-mentioned, and to shew the partiality, the insincerity, and falsbood, contained in the former, and folly of the latter. There are also some Congress speeches, which would merit exposure; but, I have not now room; for, it would be greatly censurable not to do ample justice to all these.——The people in the State of Massa-

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chusetts' Bay are, I perceive (in November) beginning to cry out against the non-importation act, which was to go into effect in the middle of this month. I said the people of New England (Massachusetts', New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island) would never suffer themselves to be sacrificed to the frenchified partiality and vindictiveness of the Southern States; and, I am morally certain that they will not. They represent the non-importation act as impracticable; they know it cannot be enforced; and, if it could, they would not submit to its provisions.——There is one foolish fellow in the Congress, who talks about conquering Canada, Nova Scotia and Jamaica. The New-Englanders laugh him to scorn; and, to be sure, he is a sad madman. This quality in him is well known. They used to have an alliteration about him: "Red-"headed Randolph rose, ranted, and roar'd." I forget the rest of the couplet; but, I remember, that it was excellently descriptive of his person, character, and manner. Conquer Jamaica! The New Englanders bid him remember, that England has some ships of war there, and they significantly hint, at the fate of the Chesapeake. They are a sensible, cool, and honest people, and they know that their government is in the wrong. ——The Congress has been passing laws for establishing a cannon-foundery, for making powder magazines, for making fortifications, and for raising soldiers and sailors. I think I see one of the New England members coming from a sitting of this sort, laughing to himself, and saying, "I wish "my head may never ache, till those laws "are carried into effect." It would be impossible, without exciting a commotion, to raise any cosiderable part of the money necessary for such purposes. But, thé "New Amphyctionic Council" loves to talk big. With what big talk did it vote 100,000 dollars, for the purpose of erecting a tomb to the memory of Washington! After taking time to cool, it reconsidered the matter; it reduced the sum to 50,000; at the next cooling, it reduced it down to 20,000, or £4,500, and, after all, not a farthing was expended, and the General's body, which, in consequence of a vote of Congress, had been asked and obtained from his widow, is, I believe, to this day, lying under an ill-shaped heap of boards in the wooden building, with their usual disgusfing vanity, they call their *Capitol*. All these warlike laws are, like this vote about Washington, intended for foreign effect; they are amongst the means, which they are employing to bully us out of our wits and our rights; to humble us; to break us down to the views of the maritime confederacy in Europe; to glut upon us that vengeance, which has been engendered in their hearts by the circumstance of our being able to exist a great nation separated from them.——Let no Englishman be cajoled by the insinuations, contained in their speeches and reports, that it is our rulers that they hate, and not us. They hate England; England in particular; they hate Scotland next, and like Ireland tolerably well. Of this, proof upon proof will appear in their speeches and their news-papers. They hate the English most, because they think, that they are best off; and they like the Irish, because they think, that the Irish hate the English. They care not who rules us, or how we are ruled, so that we do but suffer; so that misery alight upon our persons, and disgrace upon our name. And is there, then, one of English birth, a wretch so unnatural as to love them? Is there one so criminal as to wish success to their endeavours? ——At the same time, that they are, in their usual boasting strain, talking of preparations for war with us, they are full of apprehensions of a revolt in their newly acquired territory of Louisiana, where a paper, printed in the French language, openly calls upon the people, to remember, that they are Frenchmen. To suppose, that they can collect taxes from the States upon the Missisippi to carry on a war, which, by the sole means of two of our frigates, must depopulate those States, is madness equal to that of Randolph. In short, they touch the crisis of their fate; for, if they proceed to new acts of insolence, and if our ministers have only common sense, the country is, in the course of two years, divided into three or four separate sovereignties.——I do not wish for this. There are many valuable people in the country. I wish not to see them harrassed and torn to pieces. But, if they will have war with us, or insist upon seeing us degraded, war let them have, and let it be war once for all. The very circumstance of their wishing to retain our seamen is proof of their malignity towards us. They can do without our seamen; but, they know that we want them to defend ourselves against France, and for us to be able to make that defence, they do not wish to see. This is the evident motive, by which they are animated, and what more do we need in proof of their malignant, though cowardly, hostility.——In my next, I shall return to the subject, which, of all others, is the most important at this time. The Congress must be followed, step by step; all their threats and their boasts must

be put upon record; all their actions and motives truly represented; and their fame established, wherever the English language is spoken, or read, from the Ganges to the Thames. This has long been wanted to be done; England has greatly suffered; all Europe has greatly suffered, from the deceptions with respect to the American States, their government, and the character of their people; but, the success of that deception does, I trust, approach towards its end. ——As for my own part, I shall think a year of my life well-employed in communicating to the world wholesome truths respecting them, and in opening the eyes of those Englishmen, who, for the sake of that freedom of which they erroneously think them the possessors and supporters, still view them with partiality. I know, that the American clan, of whom there are great numbers in England, will abuse me without measure; but, I have more of truth to assert than even their hearts can engender of falsehood. I shall pass by the abuse of all their underlings and hirelings, and, as I used to do when amongst them, keep steadily on in the exposure of the principals. This little work, which starts into the new year with an extent of circulation greater than that of any former year, finds its way, first or last, into most of the countries and courts of the world; and so far as it goes, so far will the true character of the government, governors, and people of the American States be known. *Botley, Dec.* 31, 1807.

COBBETT'S
Parliamentary History
OF
ENGLAND,

Which, in the compass of Sixteen Volumes, royal octavo, double columns, will contain a full and accurate Report of all the recorded Proceedings, and of all the Speeches, in both Houses of Parliament, from the earliest times to the year 1803, when the publication of "Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates" commenced.

The THIRD VOLUME of the above Work is ready for delivery. It embraces the period from the Battle of Edge-hill, in October 1642, to the Meeting of the Parliament begun at Westminster, April the 25th, 1660, commonly called the CONVENTION PARLIAMENT, which was sitting at the return of Charles the Second in the month of May following, and which voted his RESTORATION. As the Materials from which it has been compiled are drawn from the same sources as those of the preceding Volumes, it is almost unnecessary to say any thing by way of addition to what is therein stated: but, as the Editors of the Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England, in 24 volumes, 8vo. published in 1751, conclude their labours with the Restoration, it may be proper again to state, that that masterly performance has, thus far, been made the ground-work of the present undertaking. The many Narratives of Battles, Sieges, &c. with which the work just mentioned abounds, and which serve only as an incumbrance to the Reader, and a constantly intervening obstacle to his researches, have been purposely omitted; while, at the same time, every thing connected with the real Proceedings of Parliament, and that could, by possibility, be hereafter useful to the Historian or the Politician, has been most cautiously retained. The Journals of both Houses, those great fountains of authentic information, have, in every instance, been carefully consulted and followed: Many Notes, illustrating, from the Historians of the Times, the Characters of the principal Members of both Houses, and explaining, where necessary, the business before them, have been introduced: And, to the whole is subjoined, by way of Appendix, a very scarce and curious Tract, published in the Year 1660, almost immediately after the Dissolution of the Long Parliament, entitled, "*The MYSTERY OF THE GOOD OLD CAUSE briefly unfolded, in a Catalogue of such Members of the late Long Parliament, that held Places, both Civil and Military, contrary to the Self-Denying Ordinance: Together with the Sums of Money and Lands which they divided amongst themselves during their Sitting.*"

*** The magnitude of the Parliamentary History, the great labour and expence attending it, and the comparatively small number of copies, which, to avoid serious risk, it has been thought adviseable to print, render it necessary, thus early, to adopt precautions calculated to prevent any broken sets remaining on hand at the conclusion of the work. Subscribers are, therefore, particularly requested to send in their Names to their respective Booksellers, as no Copies will, on any account, be sold, but to the purchasers of the former Volumes.—Gentlemen, resident in Ireland, wishing to become subscribers, will please to apply to Mr. Archer, of Dublin.

"PERISH COMMERCE."

SIR,——It is nearly impossible for those who read your friendly invitations, and who have a thought or two to spare, to withhold from communicating them to you, especially when prompted by the bold doctrines you

advance, and the extraordinary temper you discover, at a crisis that to almost every other person is a subject of alarm and regret. You will excuse me, Sir, for thinking that whatever force there may be in your arguments, your triumph at the prospect of a change which you imagine must necessarily arise out of the present embarrassed state of commerce, is seasoned with an unbecoming degree of levity. When the clouds which are charged with sulphurous matter, burst forth in lightning and thunder; or, when the ground, labouring with confined combustibles, opens its bowels, and vents itself by an earthquake; although we are aware that beneficial consequences will follow these explosions of nature, neither the prospect, nor the event would inspire any one with laughter. And he who can "laugh heartily" at annihilated commerce, when he confesses it would produce a very great derangement of affairs in the community, and throw great numbers on the parishes, "wars more against nature" than he who in such a case attempts to find employ for the "ousted manufacturers, &c." by making roads, and canals, and works of public utility. You affect to believe that no mischief of any consequence would ensue, because if one or two hundred thousand do suffer, that is but a small proportion of 10 or 12 millions. And, as by your plan, that what one loses another saves or gains, you intimate that the sufferings will be only transferred; and no doubt you think it perfectly right that those who hitherto have had their enjoyments, should exchange circumstances with those in the community who have had their sufferings. If this could be effected as easily as one centinel can be substituted to replace the duties of another, I should be exactly of your opinion; but, as I am fully convinced that no great and sudden change can take place in a country, without an awful civil convulsion, I cannot look forward to such an event as inevitable, without a great degree of concern. That the country has great cause to complain of shameful prodigality in its government, I am not in the least disposed to question. But viewing war and not commerce (any other than it has been very improperly made the cause of war) as the cause of all the corruptions in government, and of all the burdens on the nation, as I shall soon attempt to show, I think you, Sir, stand chargeable with the fault of promoting a continuance of those evils, by recommending a system of domination and defiance, that must for ever operate as a cause of universal hostility to us. But what is most extraordinary in your system is, that while you reprobate the value of foreign commerce to the nation, you suppose it greatly advantageous, and indispensably necessary to maintain an immense naval force. Those who penetrate much below the surface of things, may be able to discover such necessity; but it certainly is a very general opinion, that the principal use of our maritime force is to maintain our foreign commerce, and that all our danger of invasion arises from our persisting in a monopoly of it. If then, we are better without this commerce than with it, we might discharge a large portion of our seamen, which added to the ousted manufacturers might all be turned on the land, till by dint of labour we might almost convert stones into bread. The doctrine advanced by you and Mr. Spence, if it went no farther than to shew that England can do in cases of necessity without foreign commerce, would be very laudable; but, when you state an innocent and useful traffic to be the prime and necessary cause of our misfortunes, and recommend a system of defiance calculated to separate this country from the rest of the world, this is proceeding to an extreme of barbarity. You assert that the hemp and flax this country imports, it might grow. This for aught I know to the contrary may be true. Yet, when it is confessed that the country does not grow corn enough for its inhabitants, (although I should suppose that seven-eights of the tillable land is cultivated as well as it will admit, without an expence that the produce will not repay) I think it is very doubtful, whether we have land enough for *all our present products*, and hemp and flax besides. You assert, indeed, to my astonishment, that there are *millions* of acres in the West of England, that were formerly cultivated, now suffered to remain waste. I am at a loss to discover how you can perceive the traces of the plough which passed a century or two since over those mountains, now only traversed by hunters and hares. But, supposing it to be true, it can only be neglected because it does not pay the expence of cultivation; and as this is brought about on your own plan, by "letting things work their own way," it is no doubt as it ought to be. But you will tell me, that the reason why it will not pay for cultivation is, because we import corn, hemp, and flax, which if prohibited, would be so much wanted as to bring it to a price that would pay for producing it at home. All this may be true; but if in the natural way of letting things alone to work their way, a nation finds that it can make cloth, and hardware, &c. and exchange them for a small proportion of its corn, and all its hemp and flax, with greater cheapness, and more

general advantage than it can grow these articles, is it not better to be on friendly terms with these countries, than to shut ourselves out from a communication attended with manifest advantage; because we can and will be independent of foreign commerce. In what light, Sir, can we look upon those circumstances of different countries; that the productions of one country are so useful and desirable to another; but as a bond of union and friendship ordained by Providence? And for what reason should we haughtily dissolve this bond? It is undoubtedly proper that every nation should be independent of all others for its chief necessaries; and so I believe it invariably is. And as hemp and flax are not necessary to our comfort, but to our power, our dependence on a foreign country for the article ought to teach us a use of that power consistent with the interests of the world. In what way it may be asked is commerce the cause of all the mischiefs we deplore? Does it require the establishment of a foreign office, which we are told costs the country from two to three hundred thousand pounds a year? I see no such necessity. Does it require a secretary of state for the home department—a war secretary—a chancellor of the exchequer—lords of the treasury—an host of revenue officers—120,000 seamen, with a train of national expence which has brought the debt of the nation to the amount of £540,000,000? No. Commerce requires scarcely any of this. But war requires the whole, or is at least a pretence for them. War has been the cause of the whole. War has been the cause of all our evils, while commerce is innocent of them all. Yet you who deprecate the evils of the country are for cherishing this destructive practice, and for banishing that intercourse which requires habits of peace and friendship to maintain; and to cultivate which, we must avoid those quarrels which are the sources of our growing evils. The policy of this and of every country ought to be to supply a home consumption first; but when the fertility of the land, and the industry of its inhabitants afford them a superfluity, it is certainly advantageous for them to dispose of this superfluity to other countries, and receive produce or manufacture in exchange, such as they can use; therefore, if we send cloth and hardware abroad, and receive wine and spirits, coffee and tea, or more perishable fruits, it is an advantage although the articles exchanged by us are more durable: for our own articles being an excess are of no value, but as they are exchangeable. It is only for this purpose they are made; and, therefore, would not have had existence without it. If liability to consumption forms an objection to the value of any thing, our corn and beef are open to the objection. But, although foreign commerce is useful to its natural extent, it does not follow that we are to fight all the world to monopolize it; and still less should we adopt this maxim if we are resolved to abandon it. The policy of this country has been as mad as that of rival coach proprietors, who sometimes will carry their passengers for one half what it costs them, because their neighbouring proprietor wishes to have a share of the run. A tradesman who should form an establishment of £1000 a year, to prosecute a trade that could not produce him more than £500 per annum, would be justly deemed a fool. Yet this has been the practice of this country. We have been carrying on war for the maintenance of commerce, while we are annually obliged to borrow 12 millions to supply the expences created over and above the annual revenue, which is consequently a dead loss of 12 millions annually. I beg, Sir, you will reconsider the matter, and I entertain a hope that you will acknowledge that foreign commerce divested of war, and of chartered companies would be a benefit to the country. I will conclude this epistle with a remark on your illustration of the inutility of commerce, in the case of Mr. Nokes and the Timkin race. You observe, that if Mr. Nokes gains £10,000 a year by the Timkins in selling tea to them; if this article be prohibited Mr. Nokes's profits are gone, but the purchasers have their money to furnish both a revenue to government, and to spend among other people, and that none but Mr. Nokes would be a loser.—— Now, Sir, Mr. Spence has stated what to me appears very probable, and that is, that though a person may save the money usually laid out in foreign produce, he might not lay it out in home manufacture; the consequence would therefore be, that having less occasion for expence he would be less careful to procure the income now considered necessary. And though you have confined your statement to a single tradesman, the supposition must be, that to gain £10,000 a year, £100,000 is expended, which would be lost by its being unnecessary to those with whom wealth originates. Besides, we must generally consider foreign produce as brought to this country in lieu of a superfluous quantity of British manufacture, whether it be done directly by barter, or through the medium of money; therefore, if any article of consumption be by the abolition of commerce kept out of the country, our own pro-

duce must be taken instead, whereby the general allowance must be reduced by so much as is excluded. Tea is not only a luxury, it is become the chief beverage of the poor; and frequently constitutes a part of every meal. An article in such universal use cannot be regarded as of trifling consequence, and could not be excluded without increasing the sufferings of the poor. These remarks though hostile to your views, are submitted to you in perfect good will; if they are untenable, they will afford you means of confirming your doctrines to your readers; and if they lay just claim to truth and sound argument, I rely on your generosity to acknowledge the receipt of them.—Remaining, Sir, yours.—D.——*Falmouth, Dec.* 11, 1807.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.——*Proclamation of the Prince Regent, dated at the Palace of Ajuda, Nov.* 27, 1807; *and issued just upon his embarkation for the Brazils.*

Having tried by all possible means to preserve the neutrality hitherto enjoyed by my faithful and beloved subjects, having exhausted my royal treasury, and made innumerable other sacrifices, even going to the extremity of shutting the ports of my dominions to the subjects of my ancient and royal ally, the King of Great Britain, thus exposing the commerce of my people to total ruin, and consequently suffering the greatest losses in the collection of my royal revenues of the crown, I find that troops of the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, to whom I had united myself on the Continent, in the hope of being no more disturbed, are actually marching into the interior of my kingdom, and are even on their way to this capital; and desiring to avoid the fatal consequences of a defence, which would be far more dangerous than profitable, serving only to create an effusion of blood, dreadful to humanity, and to inflame the animosity of the troops which have entered this kingdom, with the declaration and promise of not committing any the smallest hostility; and knowing also, that they are most particularly destined against my royal person, and that my faithful subjects would be less alarmed were I absent from this kingdom, I have resolved for the benefit of my subjects, to retire with the Queen my mother, and all my royal family, to my dominions in America, there to establish myself in the City of Rio de Janeiro, until a general peace. And moreover, considering the importance of leaving the government of these kingdoms in that good order, which is for its advantage, and for that of my people (a matter which I am essentially bound to provide for); and having duly made all the reflections presented by the occasion, I have resolved to nominate as Governor and Regent of these Kingdoms during my absence, my truly and beloved cousin the Marquis de Abrantio Francisco da Cunha de Menezes, Lieutenant General of my Forces, the principal Castro (one of my Council, and a Regidor de Justica); Paetrode Mello Breyner, also of my Council, who will act as President of my Treasury, during the incapacity of Luis de Vasconcellos e San zi, (who is unable so to do at present on account of illness); Don Francisco de Nerocha, President of the Board of Conscience and Religious Orders; and in the absence of any of them, the Conde de Castro Mazim, (Grand Huntsman), whom I have nominated President of the Senate, with the assistance of the Secretaries thereof, the Conde de Sampaye, and in his absence Don Miguel Perrura Forfaz, and of my Attorney General Joas Antonio Salter de Mendenca, on account of the great confidence which I have in them, and of the experience which they possess in matters of government, being certain that my people and kingdom will be governed and directed in such a manner that my conscience shall be clear, and that this Regency will entirely fulfil its duty, so long as it shall please God that I should be absent from this capital, administering justice with impartiality, distributing rewards and punishments according to deserts. And these Regents will further take this as my pleasure, and fulfil my order in the form thus mentioned, and in conformity to the instructions signed by me, and accompanying this decree, which they will communicate to the proper department.

PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION.——*The following Letters were published in London, under the authority of Government, on the* 19*th of Dec.* 1807.

His Majesty's Ship Hibernia, off the Tagus, Nov. 29, 1807.

Sir,——I have the honour of announcing to you, that the Prince Regent of Portugal has effected the wise and magnanimous purpose of retiring from a kingdom which he could no longer retain, except as the vassal of France; and that his Royal Highness and family, accompanied by most of his ships of war, and by a multitude of his faithful subjects and adherents, have this day departed from Lisbon, and are now on their way to the Brazils, under the escort of a British fleet.—This grand and memorable event is not to be attributed only to the sudden alarm excited by the appearance of a French army

within the frontiers of Portugal. It has been the genuine result of the system of persevering confidence and moderation adopted by his Majesty towards that country; for the ultimate success of which I had in a manner rendered myself responsible; and which, in obedience to your instructions, I had uniformly continued to support, even under appearances of the most discouraging nature.—I had frequently and distinctly stated to the Cabinet of Lisbon, that in agreeing not to resent the exclusion of British commerce from the ports of Portugal, his Majesty had exhausted the means of forbearance; that in making that concession to the peculiar circumstances of the Prince Regent's situation, his Majesty had done all that friendship and the remembrance of ancient alliance could justly require; but that a single step beyond the line of modified hostility, thus most reluctantly consented to, must necessarily lead to the extremity of actual war.—The Prince Regent, however, suffered himself for a moment to forget that, in the present state of Europe, no country could be permitted to be an enemy to England with impunity, and that however much his Majesty might be disposed to make allowance for the deficiency of the means possessed by Portugal of resistance to the power of France, neither his own dignity, nor the interests of his people, would permit his Majesty to accept that excuse for a compliance with the full extent of her unprincipled demands. On the 8th inst. H. R. H. was induced to sign an order for the detention of the few British subjects, and of the inconsiderable portion of British property which yet remained at Lisbon. On the publication of this order I caused the arms of England to be removed from the gates of my residence, demanded my passports, presented a final remonstrance against the recent conduct of the Court of Lisbon, and proceeded to the squadron commanded by Sir Sidney Smith, which arrived off the coast of Portugal some days after I had received my passports, and which I joined on the 17th instant.—I immediately suggested to Sir Sidney Smith the expediency of establishing the most rigorous blockade at the mouth of the Tagus; and I had the high satisfaction of afterwards finding, that I had thus anticipated the intentions of his Majesty; your dispatches, which I received by the messenger Sylvester on the 23d, directing me to authorise that measure, in case the Portuguese government should pass the bounds which his Majesty had thought fit to set to his forbearance, and attempt to take any farther step injurious to the honour or interests of G. Britain.—Those dispatches were drawn up under the idea that I was still resident at Lisbon, and though I did not receive them until I had actually taken my departure from that court, still, upon a careful consideration of the tenor of your instructions, I thought that it would be right to act as if that case had not occurred. I resolved, therefore, to proceed forthwith to ascertain the effect produced by the blockade of Lisbon, and to propose to the Portuguese government, as the only condition upon which that blockade could cease, the alternative (stated by you) either of surrendering the fleet to his Majesty, or of immediately employing it to remove the Prince Regent and his family to the Brazils. I took upon myself this responsibility in renewing negociations after my public functions had actually ceased, convinced that, although it was the fixed determination of his Majesty not to suffer the fleet of Portugal to fall into the possession of his enemies, still his Majesty's first object continued to be the application of that fleet to the original purpose, of saving the Royal Family of Braganza from the tyranny of France.—I accordingly requested an audience of the Prince Regent, together with due assurances of protection and security; and upon receiving his Royal Highness's answer, I proceeded to Lisbon on the 27th, in his Majesty's ship Confiance, bearing a flag of truce. I had immediately most interesting communications with the Court of Lisbon, the particulars of which shall be fully detailed in a future dispatch. It suffices to mention in this place, that the Prince Regent wisely directed all his apprehensions to a French army, and all his hopes to an English fleet; that he received the most explicit assurances from me that his Majesty would generously overlook those acts of unwilling and momentary hostility to which H. R. H.'s consent had been extorted; and that I promised to H. R. H., on the faith of my Sovereign, that the British squadron before the Tagus should be employed to protect his retreat from Lisbon, and his voyage to the Brazils.——A decree was published yesterday, in which the Prince Regent announced his intention of retiring to the City of Rio de Janeiro until the conclusion of a general peace, and of appointing a regency to transact the administration of government at Lisbon during H. R. H's absence from Europe.—This morning the Portuguese fleet left the Tagus. I had the honour to accompany the Prince in his passage over the Bar. The fleet consisted of 8 sail of the line, 4 large frigates, several armed brigs, sloops, and corvettes, and a number of Brazil ships, amounting, I believe, to about

36 sail in all. They passed through the British squadron, and his Majesty's ships fired a salute of 21 guns, which was returned with an equal number. A more interesting spectacle than that afforded by the junction of the two fleets has been rarely beheld.——On quitting the Prince Regent's ship, I repaired on board of the Hibernia, but returned immediately accompanied by Sir Sidney Smith, whom I presented to the Prince, and who was received by H. R. H. with the most marked and gracious condescension.——I have the honour to inclose lists of the ships of war which were known to have left Lisbon this morning, and which were in sight a few hours ago. There remain at Lisbon 4 ships of the line, and the same number of frigates, but only one of each sort is serviceable.—I have thought it expedient to lose no time in communicating to his Majesty's government the important intelligence contained in this dispatch. I have therefore to apologise for the hasty and imperfect manner in which it is written.——I have the honour to be, &c.—STRANGFORD.

His Majesty's Ship Hibernia, 22 Leagues West of the Tagus, Dec. 1, 1807.

Sir,—In a former Dispatch, dated the 22d Nov. with a postscript of the 26th, I conveyed to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the proofs contained in various documents of the Portuguese government being so much influenced by terror of the French arms, as to have acquiesced to certain demands of France operating against G. Britain. The distribution of the Portuguese force was made wholly on the coast, while the land side was left totally unguarded. British subjects of all descriptions were detained; and it therefore became necessary to inform the Portuguese government, that the case had arisen which required, in obedience to my instructions, that I should declare the Tagus in a state of blockade; and Lord Strangford agreeing with me that hostility should be met with hostility, the blockade was instituted, and the instructions we had received were acted upon to their full extent; still, however, bearing in recollection the first object adopted by his Majesty's government of opening a refuge for the head of the Portuguese government, menaced as it was by the powerful arm, and baneful influence of the enemy, I thought it my duty to adopt the means open to us, of endeavouring to induce the Prince Regent of Portugal to reconsider his decision "to unite himself with the Continent of Europe," and to recollect that he had possessions on that of America, affording an ample balance for any sacrifice he might make here, and from which he would be cut off by the nature of maritime warfare, the termination of which could not be dictated by the combination of the continental powers of Europe.——In this view Lord Strangford having received an acquiescence to the proposition which had been made by us, for his Lordship to land and confer with the Prince Regent under the guarantee of a flag of truce, I furnished his Lordship with that conveyance and security, in order that he might give to the Prince, that confidence which his word of honour as the King's Minister Plenipotentiary, united with that of a British Admiral, could not fail to inspire towards inducing H. R. H. to throw himself and his fleet into the arms of G. Britain, in perfect reliance on the King's overlooking a forced act of apparent hostility against his flag and subjects, and establishing H. R. H's government in his ultra-marine possessions as originally promised. I have now the heartfelt satisfaction of announcing to you, that our hopes and expectations have been realised to the utmost extent. On the morning of the 29th, the Portuguese fleet (as per list annexed) came out of the Tagus with H. R. H. the Prince of Brazil and the whole of the Royal Family of Braganza on board, together with many of his faithful counsellors and adherents, as well as other persons attached to his present fortunes.—This fleet of 8 sail of the line, 4 frigates, 2 brigs, and 1 schooner, with a croud of large armed merchant ships, arranged itself under the protection of that of his Majesty, while the firing of a reciprocal salute of 21 guns announced the friendly meeting of those who but the day before were on terms of hostility; the scene impressing every beholder (except the French army on the hills) with the most lively emotions of gratitude to Providence, that there yet existed a power in the world able, as well as willing, to protect the oppressed.——I have the honour to be, &c.—W. SIDNEY SMITH.

List of the Portuguese Fleet that came out of the Tagus on the 29th Nov. 1807.

Principe Real, 84; Rainha de Portugal, 74; Comte Henrique, 74; Meduza, 74; Alfonso d'Albuquerque, 64; D'Joao de Castro, 64; Principe de Brazil, 74; Martino de Freitos, 64.——Frigates.—Minerva, 44; Golfinho, 36; Urania, 32; and one other, name not as yet known.——Brigs.—Vondor, 22; Vinganea, 20; Lebre, 22.——Schooner.—Curioza, 12.

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